10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, *1*, *2*). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 30 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were eating the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some hens, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martín de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stony and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argentine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the cacique. Manuel Pedrilla, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, *1*), had leased such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 15,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of palm used by Indians in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a hand-woven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long hand-woven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chinquihuhuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and baggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *d*).

Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (straw), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a cobbler stick to form an oval-shaped hand and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called waupo. The trunk of the tree known as ruil was preferred in making waupos. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Hahnel Bariloche is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called taqi. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

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Mapuche

scenery of characteria on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but chemicals such as urea, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca & something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*cosechadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually cleans a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately registered by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 5 or 5:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

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Mapuche
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the island and the complete absence of constant plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pehlhue	elh	18	c. 3.4 ha.
Llaukán	gun	42	c. 8.3 ha.
Huenchoual	ang	66	c. 4.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of radicación (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into ownership, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be entitled of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female radicados (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a radicado only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land in passing. As far as the individual

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various reducidos makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Limonanco: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Limonanco. Of a total of 893 hectares, approximately 180 are

IIzFaron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original radicados at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonquen, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58-60 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcun: Pelehue Bajos

Huilcun is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean parcela owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcun is approximately of the same quality, being divided among vega (swamp), baja (lowland), and alture (high and relatively dry land). Huilcun has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or vega, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Tulehu, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

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with him. If a minguco is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to minguco work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large minguco which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than is formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency -- as they are occasionally during emergencies -- when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that minguco labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working minguco, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Minguco are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders -- the household heads. In general, if minguco includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

U:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4 Mapuche

(meals) are cut for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are reserved to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the ululant tune of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

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Mapuche

only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Muerke* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *muerke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land.

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*.

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land.

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong among the membership.

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

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Mapuche

In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system cross-cuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonquco: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 54 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region. The 293 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chilenos. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vegas* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 527 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

[Reservation Alonyeo]

CHART I

[L] A	HOUSEHOLDS			TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Owned/ Rented			ANIMALS Owned/ Rented			
	Adult males	Minors	Adult males	Total hectares	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Hectares	Hectares	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Animals	Animals
1	3	4	6	7	7	80	7	0	0	0	60M	0	60M	0	x	x
2	2	2	2	10	10	50	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	
3	1	3	2	3	3	30	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
4	1	1	1	4	4	40	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
5	1	1	1	3	4	40	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
6	1	0	1	1	1	100	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		
7	3	3	3	5	5	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	80M	0	x	x
8	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
10	1	1	1	4	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11	1	1	1	7	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	
12	1	1	1	6	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
13	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
14	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
15	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
16	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
17	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
18	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
19	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
20	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
21	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
22	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
23	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
24	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
25	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
26	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
27	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
28	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
29	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
30	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
31	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
32	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
33	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
34	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
35	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
36	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
37	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
38	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
39	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
40	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
41	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
42	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
43	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
44	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
45	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
46	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
47	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
48	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
49	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
50	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
51	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
52	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
53	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
54	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
55	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
56	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
57	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
58	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
59	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
60	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
61	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
62	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
63	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
64	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
65	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
66	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
67	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
68	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
69	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
70	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
71	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
72	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
73	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
74	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
75	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
76	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
77	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
78	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
79	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
80	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
81	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
82	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
83	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
84	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
85	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
86	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
87	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
88	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
89	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
90	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
91	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
92	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
93	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
94	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
95	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
96	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
97	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
98	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
99	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
100	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
101	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
102	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
103	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
104	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
105	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
106	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
107	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
108	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
109	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
110	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
111	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
112	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
113	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
114	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
115	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
116	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
117	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
118	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
119	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
120	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
121	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
122	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
123	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
124	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
125	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
126	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
127	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
128	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
129	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
130	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
131	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
132	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
133	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
134	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
135	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
136	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
137	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
138	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
139	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
140	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
141	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
142	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
143	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
144	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
145	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
146	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
147	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
148	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
149	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
150	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
151	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
152	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
153	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
154	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
155	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
156	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
157	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
158	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
159	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
160	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
161	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
162	1	1	1	5	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Absent																x
Absent																x
Totals																
No.	53	(45)	122	513	685	100	73	115	14	47	66	34				

* M = with Mapuche.
* C = with Chilean.

[Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on MAP II (see Cat. 116, P. 32)--Analyst]

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Lleuquenco which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilliao lies just to the north of Lleuquenco. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 75 of which are under cultivation. The topography and land types are similar to those of Lleuquenco.

[Reservation Llanquenco]

[33]

CHART 2

162	HOUSEHOLDS			TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ARABLE OWNED		HECTARES Owned/ Rented		ANIMALS Owned/ Rented			
592												
425												
422												
429												
337												
241												

IIs Farms E-8 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[Reservation Huilcan]

CHART 3

Age	Sex	Relationship to head of household	Total land owned	Total land rented	Total animals owned	Total animals rented	Total animals owned	Land shared: Shared/ Rented: Half-sharecropper's	Land shared: Shared/ Rented: Rents own	Animals shared/ Rented: Half-sharecropper's	Animals shared/ Rented: Half-sharecropper's	Internal	External
0	0	[illegible]	0	0	0	1	0	[illegible]	0	0	87C		x
3	0	[illegible]	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
0	0	[illegible]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10C		
0	0	[illegible]	0	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	11C		x
0	0	[illegible]	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		x
3	0	[illegible]	3	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	18C	x	x
0	3	[illegible]	0	0	0	0	0	0	4C	0	0		x
0	1	[illegible]	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	18C	x	x
0	0	[illegible]	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		x
0	0	[illegible]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18C		x
0	3	[illegible]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x
1	0	[illegible]	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x
3	0	[illegible]	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x
Totals													
77	11	[illegible]	48	72	0	3	3	90	3	9	0	100	

162
592
423
422
429
13
698

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *medierо* or half-share system, and *minga*.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But *in* all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set *in* a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *mishu*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

The *medierо* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

14: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, while the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *füllatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-